

CIA/OCI/BRIEF 154-75
3 OCTOBER 1975

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MIDDLE EAST AFRICA BRIEF 154-75.4

RHODESIA: THE CONGRESS OF THE UMBRELLA AFRICAN NATIONAL COUNCIL THAT CONVENED IN SALISBURY LAST WEEKEND WIDENED THE BREACH AMONG RHODESIA'S RIVAL BLACK NATIONALIST LEADERS. UNLESS THEY ARE FORCED TOGETHER AGAIN BY THE FOUR AFRICAN PRESIDENTS WHO PRESSURED THEM TO MERGE INTO THE COUNCIL LAST YEAR, THE SCHISM SPELLS THE END OF A UNIFIED NATIONALIST APPROACH TO DEALING WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF PRIME MINISTER IAN SMITH.⁴

THE CONGRESS ELECTED JOSHUA NKOMO, THE MODERATE LEADER OF ONE OF THE TWO MAIN NATIONALIST FACTIONS, AS HEAD OF THE COUNCIL IN PLACE OF BISHOP MUZOREWA, THE COMPROMISE PRESIDENT SINCE THE BODY WAS FORMED LAST DECEMBER. OTHER COUNCIL LEADERS IMMEDIATELY CONDEMNED THE CONGRESS AS ILLEGAL AND SCHEDULED A RIVAL CONGRESS FOR OCTOBER 19.⁴

NKOMO'S ORDERLY ELECTION BY SEVERAL THOUSAND DELEGATES LENDS SOME SUPPORT TO HIS CLAIM TO CONTROL OF A MAJORITY OF THE COUNCIL'S BRANCHES INSIDE RHODESIA. NKOMO IS BITTERLY OPPOSED, HOWEVER, BOTH BY MUZOREWA'S SUPPORTERS—WHO HAVE CALLED THE RIVAL CONGRESS—and by

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NDABANINGI SITHOLE, THE MILITANT EXILE LEADER OF AN IMPORTANT RIVAL FACTION. SITHOLE'S GROUP, WHICH WAS LARGELY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE INSURGENCY THAT BEGAN IN RHODESIA IN LATE 1972, CAME INTO THE COUNCIL ONLY GRUDGINGLY AND HAS LONG WANTED TO ABANDON FURTHER EFFORTS TOWARD SETTLEMENT TALKS WITH SMITH AND RETURN TO ALL-OUT GUERRILLA WARFARE.4

NKOMO'S ELECTION BY THE CONGRESS POSES NEW PROBLEMS FOR THE FOUR PRESIDENTS-KAUNDA OF ZAMBIA, NYERERE OF TANZANIA, MACHEL OF MOZAMBIQUE, AND KHAMA OF BOTSWANA. UNIFYING THE RHODESIAN NATIONALISTS FOR TALKS WITH SMITH HAS BEEN FUNDAMENTAL TO THEIR COOPERATIVE EFFORT TO BRING ABOUT, IN COLLABORATION WITH SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER VORSTER, A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE RHODESIAN PROBLEM.4

THERE HAVE BEEN INDICATIONS THAT KAUNDA, WHO DOES NOT WANT NEW FIGHTING IN RHODESIA BECAUSE IT WOULD INTENSIFY HIS COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, AND PERHAPS KHAMA, MIGHT ACCEPT NKOMO. IT IS DOUBTFUL, HOWEVER, THAT NYERERE AND MACHEL, WHO HAVE HAD CLOSER TIES WITH SITHOLE'S FACTION, WOULD GO ALONG.4

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AT THIS POINT, THE FOUR PRESIDENTS PROBABLY HAVE NO FIRM IDEAS ABOUT HOW TO PROCEED. THEY MAY AWAIT THE RESULTS OF THE RIVAL CONGRESS BEFORE COMMITTING THEMSELVES TO NEW—AND PROBABLY DIFFERING—COURSES OF ACTION. [CONFIDENTIAL] E-2 IMPDET.H

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EUROPEAN BRIEF 154-75.4

I. PORTUGAL: TENSION REMAINS HIGH IN PORTUGAL, WHERE POLITICAL AND MILITARY FACTIONS IN LISBON ARE BECOMING INCREASINGLY POLARIZED.⁴

THE MOBILIZATION BY SOCIALISTS WEDNESDAY NIGHT TO HEAD OFF AN ALLEGED COUP ATTEMPT FROM THE FAR LEFT HAS BECOME THE SUBJECT FOR BITTER RECRIMINATIONS. BOTH THE SOCIALISTS AND THE POPULAR DEMOCRATS ASKED THEIR SUPPORTERS WEDNESDAY TO BE PREPARED TO RESIST EXPECTED MOVES BY THE LEFT WING. SOCIALIST LEADERS SAY THEY HAVE EVIDENCE THAT EXTREME LEFT-WING POLITICAL GROUPS, IN LEAGUE WITH SEVERAL MILITARY UNITS IN AND AROUND LISBON, WERE PLANNING A COUP FOR THURSDAY MORNING.⁴

THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS ACCUSING THE SOCIALISTS OF AGGRAVATING TENSION IN THE COUNTRY AND OF PREPARING FOR A COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY ACTION OF THEIR OWN. A PRO-COMMUNIST NEWSPAPER WARNED ON WEDNESDAY OF A "COLONEL'S PLAN" DESIGNED TO REVERSE THE COURSE OF THE REVOLUTION AND TO RESTORE A RIGHT-WING GOVERNMENT IN PORTUGAL. SEVERAL OF THE GOALS SAID TO BE IN THE PLAN HAVE ALREADY BEEN ENACTED BY THE AZEVEDO GOVERNMENT.⁴

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THE FAR LEFT, HOWEVER, HAS DENIED THAT IT PLANNED A COUP, SAYING COUPS WERE FOR RIGHT-WING ORGANIZATIONS LIKE THE SOCIALIST PARTY. MANY OF THE EXTREMIST GROUPS HAVE ARMED MILITIAS AIDED BY LIKE-MINDED SOLDIERS.⁴

THE SPLIT BETWEEN THE ANTI-COMMUNIST PARTIES AND THE FAR LEFT WING IS MIRRORED IN THE MILITARY, WHERE THE LISBON RADICALS ARE BECOMING MORE AND MORE ISOLATED FROM TROOPS IN THE REST OF THE COUNTRY. GENERAL CARVALHO'S LEFT-WING INTERNAL SECURITY COMMAND—MANY OF WHOSE TROOPS REFUSED TO OBEY ORDERS DURING THE OCCUPATION OF THE RADIO AND TELEVISION STATIONS EARLIER THIS WEEK—is ACCUSING THE SOCIALISTS OF PLAYING "WAR GAMES." THE COMMAND SAYS IT SAW NO NEED FOR SPECIAL SECURITY MEASURES ON WEDNESDAY NIGHT.⁴

THE SOCIALISTS, HOWEVER, SAY THEIR ACTIONS WEDNESDAY NIGHT WERE BACKED BY THE COMMANDERS OF ALL THE MILITARY REGIONS BUT LISBON. A SPOKESMAN FOR THE NORTHERN REGION VERIFIED THAT THE MILITARY HAD INFORMATION THAT A COUP WAS PLANNED BY LEFTIST GROUPS WITH SOME MILITARY SUPPORT AND THAT THE SOCIALIST ALERT

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HAD SPOILED IT. (CONFIDENTIAL)4

2. USSR-PORTUGAL: THE SOVIETS ARE PLAYING UP THE VISIT TO MOSCOW OF PORTUGUESE PRESIDENT COSTA GOMES IN AN EFFORT TO EMPHASIZE MOSCOW'S DESIRE FOR FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH LISBON, DESPITE THE RECENT SETBACKS THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNISTS HAVE SUFFERED.4

COSTA GOMES WAS GREETED BY PRESIDENT PODGORNY, FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO, AND DEFENSE MINISTER GRECHKO. REFERENCE TO THE VISIT IN THE SOVIET PRESS AS BEING AT THE "SUMMIT LEVEL" SUGGESTS COSTA GOMES WILL SEE GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV. IN A SPEECH AT A DINNER FOR COSTA GOMES ON WEDNESDAY, PODGORNY REITERATED SOVIET SYMPATHY FOR THE PORTUGUESE REVOLUTION AND SPOKE OUT AGAINST OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE IN PORTUGUESE AFFAIRS.4

PRECEDING THE VISIT, THE SOVIET MEDIA EMPHASIZED ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. THIS MAY BE AN INDICATION MOSCOW WILL MAKE SOME ADDITIONAL EFFORT TO HELP PORTUGAL ECONOMICALLY, ALTHOUGH THE SOVIETS HAVE BEEN NOTABLY RELUCTANT TO PROPOSE SUBSTANTIAL AID TO LISBON. IN HIS SPEECH, PODGORNY SPOKE ONLY IN VAGUE TERMS OF THE SOVIET INTENTION TO BROADEN BILATERAL COOPERATION.4

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THE SOVIETS WILL PROBABLY PRESS COSTA GOMES TO SIGN, AS HE DID IN POLAND, A JOINT DECLARATION THAT INCORPORATES THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF THE DOCUMENT SIGNED AT HELSINKI, PLEDGES BOTH SIDES TO PERIODIC POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS, AND COMMITS THEM "TO DEEPEN AND STRENGTHEN DETENTE IN EUROPE." COSTA GOMES ALSO SIGNED A COMMUNIQUE IN WARSAW SUPPORTING THE SOVIET APPROACH TO SUCH ISSUES AS THE VIENNA FORCE REDUCTION NEGOTIATIONS AND A WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE. THE WARSAW COMMUNIQUE REFERRED TO THE IMPORTANCE OF THE US-USSR STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATIONS TALKS AND EXPRESSED HOPE FOR AN EARLY FOLLOW-ON AGREEMENT.⁴

SOVIET OPTIMISM ABOUT THE VISIT HAS PROBABLY BEEN ENHANCED BY THE ABSENCE OF PORTUGUESE FOREIGN MINISTER MELO ANTUNES, WHO LED THE RECENT DRIVE TO REDUCE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN PORTUGAL. HE WAS SCHEDULED TO ACCOMPANY COSTA GOMES BUT CANCELED OUT BECAUSE OF THE TURMOIL IN PORTUGAL. [CONFIDENTIAL]⁴

3. USSR-CHINA: MOSCOW'S TREATMENT OF CHINESE NATIONAL DAY HAS FOLLOWED THE PATTERN OF RECENT YEARS.⁴

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT, BUT NOT THE PARTY, SENT STANDARD

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FELICITATIONS TO THE CHINESE, AND THE SAME SOVIET OFFICIALS WHO ATTENDED LAST YEAR TURNED UP AT THE CHINESE RECEPTION IN MOSCOW. PRAVDA AND IZVESTIA CARRIED COMMENTARIES STRONGLY CRITICIZING THE CHINESE AND MAO, BUT ALSO EXPRESSED THE USUAL SENTIMENTS THAT ONE DAY RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES WILL GET BETTER.4

THE NATIONAL DAY COVERAGE FAILS TO CONVEY ANY NEW SENSE OF DIRECTION IN MOSCOW'S POLEMICAL CAMPAIGN AGAINST CHINA THAT BEGAN IN A LONG ARTICLE IN THE MID-AUGUST ISSUE OF THE PARTY'S THEORETICAL JOURNAL KOMMUNIST. THE ARTICLE IS ESSENTIALLY A REHASH OF THIS YEAR'S SOVIET CRITICISM OF MAOIST DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICIES.4

SUBSEQUENT SOVIET COMMENTARY ON THE "WATER MARGIN" ISSUE HAS BETRAYED MOSCOW'S INTEREST IN WHAT IT REGARDS AS EVIDENCE OF POLITICKING AND, PERHAPS, EVEN PRO-SOVIET SENTIMENT IN CHINA. THE HEAD OF THE CHINA OFFICE IN THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES RECENTLY WENT SO FAR AS TO PUBLICLY, AND EXPLICITLY, ASSERT THAT THERE SEEMS TO BE PRO-SOVIET FORCES IN CHINA WHO ARE ARGUING FOR A

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CHANGE IN CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY. {CONFIDENTIAL} E-2 IMPDET.H IP FILED #

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USSR-CHINA: MOSCOW'S TREATMENT OF CHINESE NATIONAL DAY HAS FOLLOWED THE PATTERN OF RECENT YEARS.⁴

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT, BUT NOT THE PARTY, SENT STANDARD FELICITATIONS TO THE CHINESE, AND THE SAME SOVIET OFFICIALS WHO ATTENDED LAST YEAR TURNED UP AT THE CHINESE RECEPTION IN MOSCOW. PRAVDA AND IZVESTIA CARRIED COMMENTARIES STRONGLY CRITICIZING THE CHINESE AND MAO, BUT ALSO EXPRESSED THE USUAL SENTIMENTS THAT ONE DAY RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES WILL GET BETTER.⁴

THE NATIONAL DAY COVERAGE FAILS TO CONVEY ANY NEW SENSE OF DIRECTION IN MOSCOW'S POLEMICAL CAMPAIGN AGAINST CHINA THAT BEGAN IN A LONG ARTICLE IN THE MID-AUGUST ISSUE OF THE PARTY'S THEORETICAL JOURNAL KOMMUNIST. THE ARTICLE IS ESSENTIALLY A REHASH OF THIS YEAR'S SOVIET CRITICISM OF MAOIST DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICIES.⁴

SUBSEQUENT SOVIET COMMENTARY ON THE "WATER MARGIN" ISSUE HAS BETRAYED MOSCOW'S INTEREST IN WHAT IT REGARDS AS EVIDENCE

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OF POLITICKING AND, PERHAPS, EVEN PRO-SOVIET SENTIMENT IN CHINA.
 THE HEAD OF THE CHINA OFFICE IN THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES
 RECENTLY WENT SO FAR AS TO PUBLICLY, AND EXPLICITLY, ASSERT THAT
 THERE SEEMS TO BE PRO-SOVIET FORCES IN CHINA WHO ARE ARGUING FOR A
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WESTERN HEMISPHERE BRIEF 154-75-4

VENEZUELA: IRON MINERS FORM SINGLE UNION: THE GOVERNMENT HAS BACKED THE FORMATION OF A SINGLE TRADE UNION TO REPRESENT THE IRON MINERS IN AN EFFORT TO ENSURE A MEASURE OF LABOR PEACE IN AN INDUSTRY THAT HAS BEEN PLAGUED BY WILDCAT STRIKES THIS YEAR. THE NEW UNION, SUTRAHIERRO, REPLACES SEVEN SMALL UNIONS AND INCLUDES ALL FORMER EMPLOYEES OF THE ORINOCO MINING COMPANY AND IRON MINES COMPANY WHO ARE NOW EMPLOYED BY THE GOVERNMENT- OWNED GUAYANA DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION.

ELECTIONS FOR UNION OFFICERS WILL BE HELD ON OCTOBER 30. THE IMPORTANCE OF THESE ELECTIONS FAR OUTWEIGHS THE UNION'S POTENTIAL THREE OR FOUR THOUSAND MEMBERS. THE METALS INDUSTRY LOOMS LARGE IN PRESIDENT PEREZ' ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLANS, AND GOVERNMENT LEADERS ARE EAGER TO PROVE THAT VENEZUELA CAN RUN A LARGE NATIONALIZED INDUSTRY EFFICIENTLY AND WITHOUT INTERRUPTION IN PRODUCTION. CONSEQUENTLY, PEREZ' DEMOCRATIC ACTION PARTY (AD) IS MAKING AN ALL-OUT EFFORT TO WIN THESE

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ELECTIONS AGAINST LONG ODDS. BESIDES AD, ALL OTHER MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES ARE THROWING CONSIDERABLE RESOURCES AND EFFORT INTO MAKING A GOOD SHOWING. THE MARXIST MOVEMENT TOWARDS SOCIALISM (MAS), IN PARTICULAR, IS ENCOURAGED BY EVIDENCE OF STRONG SUPPORT AMONG THE WORKERS AS WELL AS BY PEREZ' THREAT EARLIER THIS YEAR TO USE MILITARY FORCES TO END THE WILDCAT STRIKES. REALIZING THAT IT IS IN A WEAK POSITION AMONG THE WORKERS AT PRESENT, AD HAS BEEN TRYING TO POSTPONE THESE ELECTIONS AS LONG AS POSSIBLE IN THE HOPE THAT THE HARD FEELINGS WOULD DIE DOWN. NOW, WITH THE DEADLINE FOR PETROLEUM NATIONALIZATION COMING UP AND THE PROSPECT OF SIMILAR LABOR PROBLEMS AMONG THE PETROLEUM WORKERS, AD APPARENTLY BELIEVES IT HAS NO CHOICE BUT TO TRY TO SUEW UP THE IRON MINES AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. IF AD LOSES THE ELECTIONS, THEN THE GOVERNMENT WILL

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HAVE TO BRACE FOR A RENEWAL OF LABOR STRIFE. THE NEW UNION
LEADERS' FIRST ORDER OF BUSINESS WILL BE THE RENEGOTIATION
OF WORKING CONTRACTS. {CONFIDENTIAL}// E-2IMPDET.H

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EAST ASIA BRIEF 154-75.4

CHINA: AS CAMPAIGNS GO IN CHINA, THE MOVE TO CRITICIZE THE ANCIENT NOVEL, "WATER MARGIN," CURRENTLY FALLS WELL SHORT OF A MASS POLITICAL CAMPAIGN. ALTHOUGH THE CRITICISM BEGAN WITH A POTENTIALLY EXPLOSIVE SERIES OF ARTICLES IN LATE AUGUST, IT HAS NOT YET GONE BEYOND THE STUDY MOVEMENT PHASE.⁴

REGULAR STUDY SESSIONS REPORTEDLY ARE BEING HELD TO CRITICIZE THE NOVEL IN SOME AREAS, BUT THERE ARE NO SIGNS OF POLITICAL ACTIVISM--INDIVIDUALS SINGLED OUT FOR CRITICISM OR POSTERS ATTACKING CURRENT LEADERS. UNDOUBTEDLY, THERE ARE MANY IN THE LEADERSHIP WHO WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE "WATER MARGIN" ISSUE REMAIN WITHIN ITS CURRENT CONFINES.

A LACK OF PREPARATION: THERE IS SOME EVIDENCE THAT THE CRITICISM OF THE NOVEL LACKED THE CAREFUL PREPARATION USUALLY ASSOCIATED WITH A MAJOR POLITICAL CAMPAIGN. THE NOVEL IS NOT YET WIDELY AVAILABLE IN CHINA.⁴

THE SHANGHAI JOURNAL, "STUDY AND CRITICISM," CLEARLY WAS TAKEN BY SURPRISE: ITS AUGUST ISSUE PRAISED THE NOVEL, BUT THE

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FOLLOWING ISSUE HAD TO TURN AROUND AND CRITICIZE IT.⁴

SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF THE "PEOPLE'S DAILY" EDITORIAL OF SEPTEMBER 4, WHICH INCLUDED THE FIRST PUBLIC REFERENCE TO MAO AS THE INITIATOR OF THE CAMPAIGN, THE PROVINCIAL MEDIA HAVE BEGUN TO COMMENT ON THE NOVEL. THE COVERAGE, HOWEVER, HAS NOT BEEN HEAVY.⁴

IN THE AUGUST ARTICLES, WHICH HARPED ON "AMNESTY" AND CALLED FOR OPPOSITION TO THE "EMPEROR," AMNESTY COULD HAVE BEEN READ AS A SWIPE AT THE REHABILITATED TENG HSIAO-PENG, AND THE EMPEROR COULD HAVE BEEN CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG HIMSELF. MANY OF THE LATER PROVINCIAL BROADCASTS HAVE NOT MENTIONED AMNESTY OR THE NEED TO OPPOSE THE EMPEROR.⁴

THE FOCUS HAS SHIFTED, IN ACCORDANCE WITH MAO'S INSTRUCTIONS, TO "CAPITULATION," AND THE NOVEL'S LEADING CHARACTER IS LINKED TO LIN PIAO, WHO IS CASTIGATED FOR SELLING OUT TO THE SOVIET UNION. THE BROADCASTS ARE REPLETE WITH REFERENCES TO LIN'S "NATIONAL BETRAYAL" AND CAPITULATION TO THE SOVIET UNION; ONE WENT SO FAR AS TO ACCUSE LIN OF SEEKING A "PROTECTIVE NUCLEAR

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"UMBRELLA" FROM MOSCOW.

THE ANTI-CONFUCIUS CAMPAIGN LAST YEAR SEEMED TO USE HIS-TORICAL ANALOGY TO CRITICIZE CERTAIN MILITARY COMMANDERS FOR BEING PRO-SOVIET, AND IT IS POSSIBLE TO READ THE CURRENT CRITICISM OF "WATER MARGIN" AS A CONTINUATION OF THAT CHARGE.

SINCE THE FALL OF LIN PIAO, MAO HAS SEEMED CONCERNED THAT SOME REMAIN IN THE MILITARY WHO ARE SYMPATHETIC TO LIN'S ALLEGED PRO-SOVIET VIEWS. MOREOVER, THE CHAIRMAN APPARENTLY FEARS THAT A CHANGE IN CHINA'S POLICY TOWARD MOSCOW COULD OCCUR AFTER HIS DEATH.

SOME CHINESE HAVE INTERPRETED THE "WATER MARGIN" CRITICISM IN PRECISELY THAT LIGHT, AND SEVERAL PROPAGANDA BROADCASTS HAVE NOTED THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS CRITICISM "IN THE PRESENT AND IN THE FUTURE" AND "IN THIS CENTURY AND THE NEXT."

AN EDUCATIONAL EXERCISE: ALTHOUGH THE CHAIRMAN MAY HAVE HAD SPECIFIC TARGETS IN MIND WHEN LAUNCHING THE "WATER MARGIN" CRITICISM, OTHERS IN THE LEADERSHIP SEEM CONTENT TO ALLOW STUDY OF THE NOVEL MERELY AS AN EDUCATIONAL EXERCISE WARNING AGAINST THE DANGERS OF FOLLOWING MOSCOW'S "REVISIONIST" ROAD.

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THIS, IN FACT, WAS THE WAY TENG HSIAO-PING EXPLAINED THE CAMPAIGN TO A FOREIGN DIPLOMAT. MOREOVER, TENG SEEMED TO UNDERCUT THE NOTION THAT CURRENT LEADERS ARE VULNERABLE TO THE CHARGE OF LIN-LIKE CAPITULATIONIST TENDENCIES WHEN HE IMPLIED THAT LIN HAD ONLY TWO SUPPORTERS--HIS WIFE AND HIS SON.⁴

TENG AND OTHERS IN THE LEADERSHIP SEEM MORE INTERESTED IN CREATING A STABLE POLITICAL CLIMATE TO ENCOURAGE ECONOMIC GROWTH THAN IN PROMOTING POTENTIALLY DISRUPTIVE POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS. CHINESE PROPAGANDA CONTINUES TO CONDEMN FACTIONALISM AND TO CALL FOR UNITY EVEN AS IT DISCUSSES "WATER MARGIN." {SECRET} E-2 IMPDET.H

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